

## Political.

## TILDEN'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE

(Continued from second page.)

out preparation would end in a new suspension. It would be a fresh calamity, prolific of confusion, distrust and distress. NO PROGRESS BEING MADE TOWARD RESUMPTION.

The act of Congress of the 14th of July, 1875, enacted that on and after the 1st of January, 1876, the Secretary of the Treasury, shall redeem, in coin, legal tender notes of the United States on presentation at the office of the Assistant Treasurer, in the city of New York. It authorizes the Secretary to prepare and provide for such resumption of specie payments by the use of any surplus revenues not otherwise appropriated, and by issuing, in his discretion, certain classes of bonds. More than one and a half of four years have passed, Congress and the President have continued ever since to unite in acts which have legislated out of existence every possible surplus applicable to this purpose. The coin in the Treasury, claimed to belong to the Government, had, on the 30th of June fallen to less than \$45,000,000 against \$59,000,000 on the 1st of January, 1875, and the availability of a part of that sum is said to be questionable. The revenues are falling faster than appropriations or expenditures are reduced, leaving the Treasury with diminished resources. The Secretary has done nothing under his power to issue bonds. The legislative command and the official promise fixing a day for resumption have been made. There has been no progress. There is no necromancy in operations of the Government. The homely maxims of every day life are the best standards of its conduct. A debtor, who should promise to pay a loan out of surplus income, yet to be seen every day spending all he could lay his hands on in riotous living would lose all character for honesty and veracity. His offer of a new promise, or his profession as to the value of the old promise, would alike provoke derision. The St. Louis platform denounces the failure for eleven years to make good the promise of legal tender notes. It denounces the omission to accumulate any reserve for their redemption. It denounces the conduct, which, during the eleven years of peace has made no advances towards resumption, no preparation for resumption, but instead, has obstructed resumption by wasting our resources and exhausting all our surplus income, and while professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto, and having first denounced the barrenness of the promise of a day of resumption, it next denounces that barren promise as a hindrance to resumption. It then demands its repeal and also demands the establishment of a judicious system of preparation for resumption. It cannot be doubted that the substitution of a system of preparation without promise of a day, for the worthless promise of a day without a system of preparation, would be the gain of the substance of resumption—the exchange for its shadow.

CAUSE OF GENERAL DISTRESS. Nor is denunciation numerated of that improvidence, which in eleven years since the peace, has consumed \$4,500,000, and yet could not afford to give the people a sound and staple currency. Two and a half per cent on the expenditures of these eleven years, or even less, would have provided all additional coin needed to resumption. The distress now felt by the people in all their business and industries, though it has its principal cause in enormous waste of capital occasioned by false policies of our government, has been greatly aggravated by mismanagement of the currency. Uncertainty is a prolific parent of mischief in all business. Never were its evils more felt than now. Men do nothing because they are unable to make calculations on which they can safely rely. They undertake nothing because they fear a loss in everything they would attempt. They stop and wait. The merchant does not buy for future consumption of his customers. The manufacturer dares not make fabrics which may not refund his outlay. He shuts his factory and discharges his workmen. Capitalists cannot lend on security they consider unsafe, and their funds lie almost without interest. Men of enterprise who have credit on securities to pledge will not borrow. Consumption has fallen below the natural limits of a reasonable economy. Prices of many things are under their range in frugal specie paying times before the civil war. Vast masses of currency lie in banks unused. A year and a half ago legal tenders were at their largest volume, and \$12,000,000 since retired have been replaced by fresh issues of fifteen millions of bank notes. In the meantime the banks have been surrendering about \$4,000,000 a month, because they cannot find a profitable use for many of their notes. The public mind will no longer accept shams. It has suffered enough from illusions. An insincere policy increases distrust. An unstable policy increases uncertainty. The people need to know that the Government is moving in the direction of ultimate safety and prosperity, and that it is doing so through prudent, safe and conservative methods, which will be sure to inflict no new sacrifice on the business of the country. Then, inspiration of new hope, and well founded confidence will hasten restoring processes of nature, and prosperity will begin to return.

The St. Louis Convention concludes its expression in regard to the currency by a declaration of its convictions as to the practical results of the system of preparations it demands. It says: We believe such a system well devised, and, above all, entrusted to competent hands for execution, creating at no time an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into withdrawal of that vast machinery of credit by which ninety-five per cent. of all business transactions are performed, a system open, public and inspiring general confidence, would, from the day of its adoption, bring healing on its wings to all our harassed industries, set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufacture and mechanical arts, restore employment to labor and renew, in all its natural resources, the prosperity of the people.

The Government of the United States, in my opinion, can advance to a resumption of specie payments on its legal tender notes by a gradual and safe process, tending to release the present business distress. If charged by the people with the administration of the Executive office, I should deem it a duty so to exercise the powers with which it may be invested by Congress as best and soonest to conduct the country to that beneficent result.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM. The Convention justly affirms that reform is necessary in the civil service. Necessary, in order that ordinary employment of public business may not be a prize fought for at the ballot box; a brief honor assigned for proved competency and held for fidelity in public employ. The Convention wisely added that reform is necessary even more in the higher grades of public service. The President, Vice-President, Judges, Senators, Representatives, cabinet officers, these and all others in authority are not a private perquisite. They are a public trust.

TWO EVILS. Infest the official service of the Federal Government. One is prevalent and demoralizing. The notion that the public service exists not for the business and benefit of the whole people but for the interest of office holders, who are in truth but the servants of the people. Under the influence of this pernicious error public employments have been multiplied. The number of these gathered into the ranks of office holders have been steadily increased beyond any possible requirement of public business; while inefficiency, peculation, fraud and malversation of the public funds from the high places of power to the lowest have overspread the whole service like a leprosy.

The other evil is the organization of the official class into a body of political mercenaries, governing caucuses and dictating nominations of their own party, and attempting to carry elections of the people by undue influence and by immense corruption funds, systematically collected from the salaries and fees of office holders. The official class in other countries, sometimes by its own weight and sometimes in alliance with the army has been able to rule unorganized masses even under universal suffrage. Here it has already grown into a gigantic power, capable of stifling inspirations of a sound public opinion and of resisting an easy change of administration, until misgovernment becomes intolerable and public spirit has been slung to the pitch of a civic revolution.

THE FIRST STEP IN REFORM. Is the elevation of the standard by which the appointing power selects agents to execute official trusts. The next in importance is a conscious fidelity in the exercise of authority, to hold to account and displace untrustworthy or incapable subordinates. The public interest in the honest, skillful performance of official trusts must not be sacrificed to the interest of incumbents. After these immediate steps which will insure the exhibition of better examples, we may wisely go on to the

ABOLITION OF UNNECESSARY OFFICERS. And finally to a patient, careful organization of a better civil service system under tests wherever practicable of competency and fidelity. While much may be accomplished by these methods, it might encourage delusive expectations.

IN FAVOR OF ONLY ONE TERM FOR PRESIDENT.

If I withheld here expression of my conviction that no reform of the civil service in this country will be complete and permanent until its Chief Magistrate is Constitutionally disqualified for reelection, experience having repeatedly exposed the futility of self-imposed restrictions by candidates or incumbents. Through this check only can he be effectually delivered from his greatest temptation to misuse his power and patronage with which each Executive is necessarily charged. Educated in the belief that it is the first duty of a citizen of the Republic to take his fair allotment of the care and trouble in public affairs, I have for forty years, as a private citizen, fulfilled that duty. Though occupied in an unusual degree during all that period with concerns of government, I have never acquired the habit of official life. When a year and a half ago, I entered upon my present trust, it was in order to consummate reforms to which I had already devoted several of the best years of my life. Knowing as I do, therefore, from fresh experience, how great the difference between gliding through an official routine and working out a reform of systems and policies, it is impossible for me to contemplate what needs to be done in the Federal Administration without the anxious sense of the difficulties of the undertaking. If summoned by the suffrages of my countrymen, to attempt this work, I shall endeavor, with God's help, to be an efficient instrument of their will.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN. To General John A. McClernand, Chairman; Gen. W. B. Franklin, Hon. J. Abbott, Hon. H. J. Spaulding, Hon. H. J. Redfield, Hon. F. S. Lyon and other members of the committee.

## HENDRICKS' LETTER.

He Accepts the Nomination for the Vice Presidency.

Endorses the St. Louis Platform—Scathing Review of the Corruptions of the Present Administration—Rebuke of the Resumption Act Necessary to restore Prosperity—How Resumption can be Effected—His Views on Civil Service Reform, Common Schools, etc.—Reform the Leading Idea of the Letter.

SARATOGA, N. Y., Aug. 4.—The following is the text of Mr. Hendricks' letter:

INDIANAPOLIS, July 24, 1876.

To the Chairman of the St. Louis Convention:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, in which you have formally notified me of my nomination by the National Democratic Convention at St. Louis, as their candidate for the office of Vice President of

the United States. It is a nomination I neither expected nor desired, yet I recognize and appreciate the high honor done me by the Convention. The choice of such a body, and pronounced with such unusual unanimity, and accompanied with so generous an expression of esteem and confidence, ought to outweigh all mere personal desires and preferences of my own. It is with this feeling, and also I trust from a deep sense of public duty, that I now accept the nomination, and shall abide the judgment of my countrymen. It would have been impossible for me to accept the nomination if I could not heartily endorse the platform of the convention.

ENDORSES UNEQUIVOCALLY THE PLATFORM. I am gratified therefore to be able unequivocally to declare that I agree in the principles, approve the policies and sympathize with the purposes enunciated in that platform.

SHAMEFUL CORRUPTIONS OF THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

The institutions of our country have been sorely tried by the exigencies of the civil war, and since the establishment of peace, by a selfish and corrupt management of public affairs which has shamed us before civilized mankind, by unwise and impartial legislation, every industry and interest of the people have been made to suffer, and the Executive departments of the government.

DISHONESTY, RAFACTORY AND VENALITY have debauched the public service. Men known to be unworthy have been promoted, whilst others have been degraded for fidelity to official duty. Public office has been made the means of private profit, and the country has been offended to see a class of men who boast the friendship of the sworn protectors of the State, amassing fortunes by defrauding the public treasury, and corrupting the servants of the people. In such a crisis of the history of the country, I rejoice that the convention at St. Louis has so raised the standard of reform.

Nothing can be well with us or with our affairs till the public conscience, shocked by the enormous evils and abuses which prevail, shall have demanded and compelled an unsparing reformation of our National Administration in its head and in its members. In such a reformation, the removal of a single officer, even the President, is comparatively a trifling matter, if the system which he represents, and which has fostered him as he has fostered it, is suffered to remain, the President alone must be made the scapegoat for the enormities of the system which infests the public service, and threatens the destruction of our institutions. In some respects I hold that the present Executive has been the victim rather than the author of that vicious system. Congressional and party leaders have been stronger than the President. No one man could have created it, and the removal of no one man can amend it. It is thoroughly corrupt, and must be swept remorselessly away by the selection of a government composed of elements entirely new and pledged to radical reform.

THE FIRST WORK OF REFORM must evidently be the restoration of the nominal operation of the Constitution of the United States with all its amendments. The necessities of war cannot be pleaded in a time of peace. The right of local self-government, as guaranteed by the Constitution, must be everywhere restored, and the centralized—almost personal—imperialism which has been practiced must be done away with, or the first principles of the Republic will be lost.

OUR FINANCIAL SYSTEM

experiments must be reformed. Gold and silver are the real standards of value, and our National currency will not be a perfect medium of exchange till it shall be convertible at the pleasure of the holder. As I have heretofore said, no one desires a return to specie payment more earnestly than I do, but I do not believe that it can or will be reached in harmony with the interests of the people by artificial measures for the contraction of the currency, any more than I believe that wealth or permanent prosperity can be created by the inflation of the currency. The laws of finance cannot be disregarded with impunity. The financial policy of the government, if indeed it deserves the name of policy at all, has been in disregard of those laws, and therefore has disturbed commercial and business confidence, as well as hindered a return to specie payment.

THE RESUMPTION ACT—ITS REPEAL NECESSARY.

One feature of that policy was the resumption clause of the act of 1875, which has embarrassed the country by the anticipation of a compulsory resumption, for which no preparation has been made, and without any assurance that it would be practicable. The repeal of that clause is necessary, that the natural operation of financial laws may be restored; that the business of the country may be relieved from its depressing and disturbing influences, and that a return to specie payments may be facilitated by the substitution of wiser and more prudent legislation, which shall mainly rely on a judicious system of public economies and official retrenchments, and above all, on the promotion of prosperity in the industries of the people.

ITS REPEAL WOULD NOT BE A BACKWARD STEP.

I do not understand the repeal of the resumption clause of the act of 1875 to be a backward step in our return to specie payment, but the recovery of a false step, and although the repeal for a short time may be prevented, yet the determination of the Democratic party on this subject has now been declared, there should be no hindrance put in the way of a return to specie payment, as such hindrances, says the platform of the St. Louis convention, we denounce the resumption clause of the act of 1875, and demand its repeal.

HOW RESUMPTION CAN BE BROUGHT ABOUT.

I thoroughly believe that by public economy, by official retrenchment, by wise finance enabling us to accumulate the precious metals, resumption at an early period is possible without producing artificial scarcity of currency or disturbing public or commercial credit, and that these reforms, together with the restoration of a pure government, will restore general confidence. Inrush employment to labor, and relieve the coun-

try from the paralysis of hard times.—With the industries of the people there have been frequent interferences. Our platform truly says that many industries have been impoverished to subsidize a few. Our commerce has been degraded to an inferior position on the high seas. Manufacturers have been diminished.—Agriculture has been embarrassed.—The distress of the industrial classes demands that these things shall be reformed.

PUBLIC EXPENSES MUST BE REDUCED.

The burdens of the people must also be lightened by a great change in our system of public expenses. The profligate expenditures which increased taxation from \$5 per capita in 1866, to \$18 in 1870, tells its own story of our need of fiscal reform.

Our treaties with foreign powers should be revised and amended, in so far as they leave citizens of foreign birth in any particular less secure in any country on earth than they would be if they had been born upon our soil. And the iniquitous Coolie system, which, through the agency of wealthy companies, imports Chinese bondmen, and establishes a species of slavery, and interferes with the just reward of labor on our Pacific coast, should be utterly abolished.

In the reform of our civil service I do most heartily endorse that section of the platform which declares that the civil service ought not to be subject to change at every election, and that it ought not to be made the brief reward of party zeal, but ought to be awarded for proven competency, and held for fidelity in the public employ. I hope never again to see the cruel and remorseless proscription for political opinions which has disgraced the Administration of the last eight years. Bad as the civil service now is, as all know, it has some men of tried integrity and proved ability. Such men, and such men only, should be retained in office, but no man should be retained on any consideration who has prostituted his office to the purpose of partisan intimidation or compulsion, or who has furnished money to corrupt elections.—This is done and has been done in almost every county in the land. It was a blight upon the morals of the country, and ought to be reformed.

Of sectional contentions, and in respect to our common schools, I have only this to say, that in my judgment the man or party that would involve our schools in political or sectarian controversy is an enemy to the schools. The common schools are so far under the protecting care of all the people, than under the control of any party or sect, they must be neither sectarian nor partisan, and there must be neither division or misappropriation of the funds for their support.—Likewise I regard the man who would arouse or foster sectional animosities and antagonisms among his countrymen as an enemy to the country.

All the people must be made to feel and know that once more there is an established purpose and policy under which all citizens of every condition, race and color will be secure in the enjoyment of whatever rights the Constitution and laws declare or recognize, and that, in controversies that may arise, the government is not a partisan, but within "its Constitutional" authority, the just and powerful guardian of the rights and safety of all. The strife between the sections and between the races will cease as soon as the power for evil is taken away from the party that makes political gain out of scenes of violence and bloodshed. The Constitutional authority is placed in the hands of men whose political welfare requires that peace and good order shall be preserved everywhere.

It will be seen, gentlemen, that I am in entire accord with the platform of the convention by which I have been nominated as a candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States.

A GOOD WORD FOR TILDEN.

Permit me in conclusion to express my satisfaction at being associated with a candidate for the Presidency who is first among his equals as a representative of the spirit and the achievements of reform. In his official career as the Executive of the great State of New York, he has, in a comparatively short period, reformed the public service and reduced the public burden so as to have earned at once the gratitude of his State and the admiration of the country. The people know him to be thoroughly in earnest. He has shown himself to be possessed of powers and qualities which fit him in a great degree for the great work of reformation which the country now needs, and if he shall be chosen by the people to the high office of President of the United States, I believe the day of his inauguration will be the beginning of a new era of peace, purity and prosperity in all departments of our government.

I am, gentlemen, Your obedient servant,

THOS. A. HENDRICKS.

To the Hon. John A. McClernand, Chairman, and others of the Committee of the Democratic National Convention.

The Democratic State Convention in Louisiana has nominated Gen. Frank Nichols of St. Landry Parish for Governor, and Louis A. Wiltz, formerly Mayor of New Orleans, for Lieutenant Governor. These are considered strong nominations. Gen. Nichols is one of the most popular men in the State, but he has never sought office. Indeed, he repeatedly declined to have his name used for the nomination which he had just received, and which was absolutely forced upon him. Mr. Wiltz was Speaker in the organization of the Legislature in January, 1875, and by the wise discretion which he displayed when the Conservative members were illegally expelled at the point of the bayonet, he won the respect even of his political opponents. There is no doubt that with this ticket the Democrats can carry the State by a very large majority in November, if bayonets do not rule.

Col. HENRY O. KENT, of New Hampshire, a member of the Liberal Republican National Committee of 1872, publishes a letter declaring that he is for Tilden and Hendricks. The best men among the Liberals remain true to the cause of reform.

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